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commonweal

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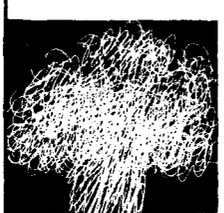

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Labor, so articulate on most issues facing the American people, is playing the antiballistic missile system issue reserved and cool—except for the United Automobile Workers (UAW), perhaps the last real repository of Labor's old idealism. The UAW has issued a lengthy position paper urging cancellation of the ABM program as an unjustifiable escalation of the arms race. The statement has been lost in the welter of ABM argumentation, but the UAW is on record and on the right side.

The rest of Labor, however—especially the AFL-CIO building trades' unions—is quietly lining up with the militarists. As columnist Victor Riesel put it: "When it comes to getting that $10 billion for the Sentinel . . . the Defense Department can count on some mighty influential forces, America's labor leaders, to back it through thick and thin—mostly thick."

There's no mystery why. The Pentagon, in a series of unreported meetings beginning last Oct. 1, has carefully pointed out to Labor what the ABM means to the membership: thousands of jobs and a top wage scale.

Each ABM site will require the employment of 900 to 1,375 workers—plumbers, electricians, carpenters, machinists, riggers, pipefitters, etc.—for an average of 22 months. Construction costs per base will run toward $50 million (exclusive of radar electronics, computers, etc., which will be millions more). All of which is a tempting hunk of pie for Labor, particularly when the Pentagon isn't even asking a no-strike pledge.

•

Msgr. F. Joseph Manns of St. Anthony of Padua parish, Baltimore, isn't the first priest to have his resignation requested by his Ordinary. But he may be the first priest whose resignation was both requested and publicized.

Said Msgr. P. Francis Murphy, secretary to Baltimore's Cardinal Shehan, in an official announcement: Msgr. Manns "found it impossible to carry out archdiocesan policy in keeping with the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, particularly in the area of liturgical renewal, lay responsibility and the proper role of associate pastors."

Which is the sort of honesty to close communications gaps between the chancery and the folks in the pews.

So, too, the financial statement of the Archdiocese of Louisville, which was not selective and not angled to point up problems or rally support for pet diocesan projects, like parochial schools.

Louisville's report showed a working surplus of more than $600,000 for last year. Assets were totaled at $10.5 million and liabilities at $9.9 million; $3.4 million was listed in banks and securities.

•

Those withholding payment on the federal tax to their telephone bill as a protest against the war in Vietnam are estimated by the War Resisters League at 10,000.

This is the tax raised to 10 percent by a 1966 bill which, according to Representative Wilbur Mills, was dictated by "Vietnam and only the Vietnam operation."

WRL considers its 10,000 estimate to be conservative. It is based on 3,000 names in its own files and the projection of an indiscretion by an official at the Internal Revenue Service Computer Center in Andover, Mass. He let slip that there are 5,000 telephone tax refusers in the New York and New England areas alone.

The telephone tax is, of course, only a small portion of one's telephone bill. What makes refusal of payment an important part of the peace witness, WRL maintains, "is not the fact that in the end it will produce government bankruptcy, but the confrontation between citizen and government that it creates."

WRL advises that those joining in the telephone tax protest can expect harassment, ranging from IRS summonses to tapping of bank accounts. One thing not to worry about, says WRL: discontinuation of service by the telephone company. That's happened only once—in Mississippi—and the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, the Southern arm of ACLU, is fighting the case.

•

The draft program of a proposed bishop-editor symposium on the Catholic press calls for a presentation on "The Theology of the Press."

The title is a concession to a difficulty raised by the Editor-Publisher Relations Committee of the Catholic Press Association. Explanation by parenthesis:

"This was originally titled 'Theology of a Free Press.' EPR Committee comment was that such title seemed to indicate a pre-direction of the thrust. So 'Free' is dropped from the title of the presentation."

Also omitted: resource names believed to be "ideologically unacceptable to some bishops." Explanation by memo:

"Therefore, regardless of possible contribution to our sessions, persons such as Novak, Hoyt, Cogley, McDonald, G. Baum, etc., have not made the roll as potential speakers."

Purpose of the symposium is "to create mutual understanding of the purposes and functions of the Catholic press . . . and to move toward the development of a set of 'guidelines,' 'position paper' or 'code' of principles of the Catholic press . . ."

•

The man at Pan-Am says the company is standing on tradition: womankind is a bona fide qualification for the job of flight attendant.

Celio Diaz, Jr., of Miami protests. He claims he is the victim of sex bias and is suing Pan-Am under the equal opportunity provisions of the Civil Rights Act, demanding that the airline hire him as a male steward.

Says Diaz, he can mix a martini as well as any stewardess.

This the airline doesn't argue. But how's he going to look in a Pucci?

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

More on Southwick

Chicago

To the Editors: Your issue for Jan. 24 featured Israel: an article followed by four "responses," plus an editorial with the title "Can We Discuss the Middle East?" With respect to the latter, I feel the answer is, "No, not if this is the way we are going to go about it."

As one who has always had the highest respect for the intellectual quality maintained by *Commonweal*, your publication of the article by Albert B. Southwick came as a shock. It need not have been honored with four responses. . . . Facts are treated out of context and the intricacy and many-sidedness of the conflict remains unperceived. The net result is disastrous; the article adds fuel to the fire and makes thoughtful and responsible treatment of all issues even more difficult than they were before.

The cultural ethos of Islam—and of Judaism—differs greatly from that of modern Christianity in the West. The implications of this with respect to social and political structures and images is very great. What Mr. Southwick reports David ben Gurion as having said about the Jewishness of the State of Israel to an Israeli Arab very probably made a lot more sense to that Arab than Mr. Southwick either imagines or is able to comprehend. He calls the statement "naive and remarkable," chiefly because its meaning is to be related to a perspective that the Arab shares with Ben Gurion but which lies beyond Southwick's ken.

Or again, the picture of new-born infants lying on a dirty blanket, their faces obscured by buzzing flies, is not a pretty one, especially for an American who sees it for the first time. It is, however, a picture that can be duplicated a thousand times over, year by year, in Arab lands where there are no refugees, including Iraq, where I was familiar with it. Its connection with the refugee problem is incidental. That problem is far too important and deli-

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HESBURGH'S LAW

Administrators of Catholic colleges are well advised to look to their own households in the context of the revolution sweeping the American secular campus. The same time-bombs are ticking away; and their explosion is delayed only by the longer fuses of the culture gap and an authoritarian tradition which has fashioned a more docile student. This grace period is swiftly burning out. The culture gap which separates institutional Catholicism from the totality of the forces at work in American society is but a small fraction of the 25 years once estimated by Robert Hutchins; and the authoritarian tradition is being routed with the displacement of denominational influences and the growing-up from *in loco parentis* concepts. Yale's Sterling Professor of Philosophy, Paul Weiss, can congratulate himself that he is moving to Catholic University, since on the Catholic campus students are "so well disciplined." But his is a fool's paradise if he thinks the condition is permanent in the behavioral as it has been in the intellectual sense, or that discipline is the key to controlling the problems of campus, secular or Catholic.

This is why the policy of threat decreed for Notre Dame University by its president, Father Theodore Hesburgh, is delusionary. The Hesburgh injunction concedes that there is more than enough in "our often non-glorious civilization" for youth to be alienated from, but the notion of student influence on meaningful reform is kept subordinate to old ideals of discipline. Students are to be taught in what amounts to an atmosphere of benevolent repression, with the administration shielded from all save the mildest of pressures from students frequently more sensitive to social and political urgencies than the university's august directors. It is an arrangement which impoverishes the university. The student witness is minimized and nothing more enlightened

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is expected from the administration than the policies which are the sickness of the nation and the very causes of really serious campus confrontations: institutional racism, exploitation of science, collusion with the military, etc.

Perhaps Notre Dame's delusion is because only 150 or so of its 6,000 students turn out for a CIA or Dow Chemical protest. Perhaps it is, too, that the issues which agitate its student body are still those of simple morality. It is revealing that it was no lofty Berkeleian or Columbian issue that triggered the Hesburgh ultimatum, but rather the mean question whether an allegedly pornographic film should be shown in a seminar on pornography and censorship—a circumstance which probably tells us as much about values and levels of relevancy at Catholic universities generally as much as it does of Notre Dame. In any case, it is presumptuous to conclude that the Catholic campus is forever going to be lowbrow or that the administration is always going to get away with such innocent brinkmanship. Crisis will loom so long as conventional policies keep Catholic campuses almost lily-white, so long as recruiters for questionable agencies and companies have free access to the student body, so long as ROTC units troop about campus training officers for dirty wars, and so long as ties are maintained with alumni and others that foster evils like institutional racism. The Catholic university is a tainted place, and as such has an accountability to those it presumes to educate.

The warp in the Hesburgh ultimatum buckles on that point. Crisis is foreseen, but the responsibility for an orderly campus is placed on the student body, with no attendant facing up to institutional policies which will be a factor in determining whether order ought indeed be maintained on campus. Apart from very valid considerations of constitutional guarantees, it is this one-dimensionalism which finally defeats Hesburgh's law—defeats it as a viable code for Notre Dame and as an exemplar document for other educational institutions, President Nixon's "Dear Ted" letter of commendation notwithstanding. Hesburgh's law may appeal to law-and-order Republicans, but it will not be adopted by the perceptive university nor tolerated by students with a sophisticated sense of the collateral responsibilities of the university administration. If Notre Dame or any Catholic university has a future worth anticipating, it will have substantially larger percentages of students demanding, like their counterparts on the secular campus, an authenticity and commitment purer than that presently known.

All of which is not to say that the student should be allowed to run wild on campus, but rather that before the university administration lays down its fascist dicta, it look to itself and the policies which justify the grievances, and therefore validate the confrontations of students. Distortions abound on the Catholic campus, beginning, as most would admit, with Notre Dame. So much so that to talk of campus order primarily in terms of student deportment rings of fraudulence.

FOOTNOTE ON HOLLAND

Elsewhere in this issue Frederick Franck discusses the latest controversy in the always lively Dutch Church—this one involving the challenge to the Dutch bishops and ultimately to Rome posed by a Dutch priest who wanted to continue his priestly ministry after marriage. In the course of his article Dr. Franck commented, "Whatever the answer, as of today a compromise looks likely again," and as we go to press news reports indicate that a compromise has indeed taken place. The priest in question, Father Jos Vrijburg, will not be allowed to celebrate the Eucharist after his marriage, or even to preach at Mass, as he had requested; instead a special service of the Word will be devised at which he will be able to preach, although the exact form of the service has yet to be determined. The solution arrived at represents a compromise agreed to by Bernard Cardinal Alfrink, Archbishop of Utrecht, and the other six bishops of the Netherlands. Up to now, no statement has come from Rome.

The limitations of the compromise agreement are obvious. The Dutch bishops were adamant in opposing even preaching by a married priest at Mass, and in this pattern they were following the rigid Roman line. This is a position with which we are unable to agree. Celibacy will no doubt continue to be honored in the Church, but, as many have pointed out, this does not mean that it should be a necessary condition for ordination to the secular priesthood—indeed, the exit from the active ministry of so many good priests all over the world testifies that the Roman side of the argument is already being lost. To our mind, the sooner Rome makes provision for a married clergy in the Latin rite, the better. In the meantime, the present compromise is welcome, but we hope the Dutch bishops will now insist on discussion of this matter at the coming world Synod of Bishops. If the Dutch representative at the Synod can force this vital issue onto the Curia-frozen agenda, much good for the whole Church may yet come out of this affair.

Next Week

After Vietnam, What?

And why Vietnam in the first place? And will there be other Vietnams in the future? A special Commonweal symposium with contributions from

Stanley Hoffmann
William Pfaff
Carl Oglesby
William V. Shannon
Jeremy J. Stone
Wilson Carey McWilliams

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NON-PROLIFERATION: TWO VIEWS

The Senate debates ratification

Disarming but not disarming

BETTY PILKINGTON

When Washington at long last ratifies the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Americans in general will probably share a common illusion: that the United States has demonstrated to the world that she not only preaches disarmament in the appropriate forums but practices it through binding international commitments.

There is, unhappily, not one ounce of actual disarmament in the package. There is no demand for the destruction or freeze or cutback of those nuclear (or other) arms now in the possession of the five nuclear powers —China, France, and the United Kingdom, but more especially the United States and the Soviet Union, cardinal framers and movers of the treaty.

Moreover, of some eight or ten measures regarded as providing a proper linkage with the treaty, none has received serious attention. Indeed, even as early as October 20, 1966, Arthur Goldberg, speaking in the UN's First Committee, had warned against "encumbering [the] negotiations . . . by any attempt to link it [the treaty] to additional disarmament[!] measures." One of those measures, a prohibition of the development or deployment of anti-ballistic missiles, now appears to have been openly defied by the Pentagon disclosure that the question is less one of "whether" than "where."

Senator J. William Fulbright, on the first day of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings on the treaty, confronted Secretary of State Rogers with the inherent contradiction between Article VI (the undertaking "to pursue negotiations in good faith . . . relating to . . . nuclear disarmament . . .") and deployment of the Sentinel. The Secretary not only disagreed but refused to say Yes when the Senator asked, "If this is ratified, you might be more persuaded to drop the ABM?" There is one potential plus factor here. By reiteration of that contradiction the committee hearings have fortified Senate opposition to the ABM; and if the Sentinel is in fact defeated, the treaty can claim credit.

The treaty's second sin of omission —its failure to oblige the nuclears to offer the non-nuclears guarantees against nuclear attack—was, like the first, no accident. On August 24, 1967, Ambassador William C. Foster (US), speaking before the Eighteen Nations Disarmament Committee, had termed the security of the non-nuclears a matter "which because of its complexity and the divergent interests involved, cannot be dealt with in the treaty itself."

UN Resolution

In an attempt to answer the objections to this incredible void, the two superpowers moved through the Security Council a resolution to "accompany" the treaty. It is, however, virtually worthless since its effectiveness demands unanimity among the five permanent members of the Council, something that is most unlikely—historically so proven—when tensions are at the threat-to-the-peace-of-the-world level.

What the treaty does not do is all too clear. What it does do is not.

There are, indeed, two articles concerned with making nuclear energy for peaceful purposes more available to

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A Nuclear Sarajevo

PETER STEINFELS

Several years ago, nuclear non-proliferation, like integration and Adlai Stevenson's sense of humor, was an unquestioned liberal cause. But like other liberal causes, non-proliferation has become suspect. Alastair Buchan wrote in 1966 that "the discussion about the spread of nuclear weapons and its inhibition or control is, to an even greater extent than earlier controversies about arms control, an argument about the future structure of authority, prestige and power in the world." And since the war in Vietnam, many Americans have come to doubt the "liberal" vision of this future world structure.

No surprise then that the non-proliferation treaty, up for Senate ratification, has met a resounding lack of enthusiasm on the left as well as the usual objections from the right. The treaty is very much in the interests of the U.S. and the USSR because it helps preserve their super-power status. No one has ever concealed this fact, although a few critics are discovering it now as though it were evidence of horrendous Machiavellianism. Now and then, of course, the interests of the super-powers happen to coincide with those of world peace. Still, the brutal intervention of the U.S. in Vietnam and the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia does make their support for this peacemaking measure suspicious, if not downright hypocritical.

There are also tactical reasons for sniping at the treaty. For example, *Mayday,* in its relentless harassment

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Pilkington, cont.

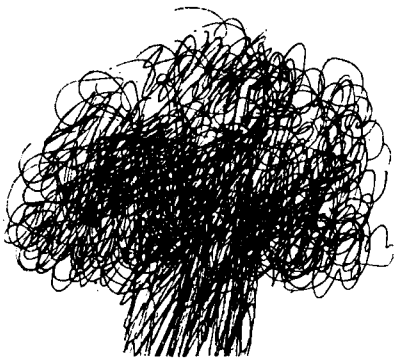
the non-nuclears. But the main thrust of the document is contained in the first two of its eleven articles: nuclear powers undertake not to transfer nuclear explosive devices or the control over such to "any recipient whatsoever" and not to "assist, encourage, or induce" a non-nuclear to manufacture or acquire the same; and non-nuclears, for their part, undertake not to receive, manufacture or acquire such devices.

The no-transfer obligation assumed by the nuclears had its origin in the gulf dividing the United States and the Soviet Union in the early stages of their negotiations on the treaty. The Soviet Union feared that West Germany, by either a multilateral Western nuclear defense force or a political union, would get access to nuclear weapons. In fact, this central issue is still unresolved. The language of the treaty sounds prohibitive in application of this very point, and yet the United States retains her view that a multilateral nuclear force incorporating personnel from one or more non-nuclear states would not violate the treaty, and at the same time the Soviet Union adheres to her view that it would.

But the potential hazards inherent in this central conflict of interpretation was not enough to slow the speed and fury of the US-USSR efforts, within the UN, to give the covenant a certain first round of legality by "commending" it via a General Assembly resolution (June 12, 1968; 95 to 4, with 21 abstentions).

But why that haste? And for that matter, why the treaty at all, since it addresses itself only to the threat or possibility of horizontal proliferation and not to the frightening reality of vertical proliferation?

Privately the nuclear powers seemed to see it as a means of deterring a handful of countries with the capacity and/or will to manufacture nuclear weapons—India, Canada, West Germany, Japan, Israel and others—from doing so. But it would seem highly probable that allegiance to an inequitable treaty is going to be less sacred for any of these nations in a time of crisis than the concept of national survival.



Some of the treaty's most severe critics, therefore, believe that the superpowers had other objectives, such as: (a) to restrict the public image of the nuclear club to its four UN members ("monopoly in perpetuity" was the phrase used by Kenya's late Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Argwings-Kodhek); and by a broad ratification of the treaty, to ward off any later formation of a sizable Chinese-directed nuclear consortium; (b) by a sustained ballyhoo over something that looks like disarmament but isn't, to deflect complaints directed against the nuclears themselves for getting nowhere with real disarmament; and—as for the Why of the haste—(c) to get a formulation nailed down before the opposition had had a chance to exploit its glaring weaknesses.

Chances: Zero

The non-nuclears wanted to be able to hold their own conference well before being obliged to vote on the Assembly resolution conveying the treaty. Heady corridor pressures reduced their chances to zero. In fact, Ambassador Danieli of Tanzania stated openly (First Committee) that when his delegation and others expressed concern about the treaty, "we were told that the only alternative for us was to 'take it or leave it.' We had expected . . . the spirit of accommodation—not the bitter pill of blackmail."

When the non-nuclears finally met—in Geneva, more than two months after the resolution had cleared—the issue was largely academic. But they felt that their ideas might exert some influence, if only indirectly, once the treaty had experienced a few trials-by-fire, especially in the application of those clauses designed to aid the non-nuclears in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Meantime, Washington's long delay between signature and ratification has done nothing to change the feeling of these countries about the inadequacy of the treaty, and most of those same states would, too, remain non-nuclear with or without a treaty.

The Line-Up

In all, 88 states (including East Germany) have signed it. But only 9 have to date ratified it, and among these Canada is the only "near-nuclear." Among the nuclears, only the United Kingdom has ratified it. The Soviet Union is expected to act immediately after the United States; France has of now no intention of even signing it; and China, understandably, has had no wish to become a party to a treaty that was in any way authenticated by an organization from which she is still barred.

Lyndon Johnson, as President, speaking before the General Assembly less than an hour after the crucial resolution was adopted, called the treaty the "most important international agreement in the field of disarmament since the nuclear age began." But what Lord Chalfont had said a year earlier (ENDC, Geneva) was decidedly less Texan and far more relevant: "[I]f a non-proliferation treaty is not followed by serious attempts amongst the nuclear powers to dismantle some of their own vast nuclear armory, then the treaty will not last . . . "

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Steinfels, cont. of the Establishment, recently revealed that the Atomic Energy Commission's interpretation of Section 5 of the treaty would provide nuclear explosive services to American firms for oil and gas exploration without charging for taxpayer-supported research and development. Senator Fulbright and others have used the treaty's clause concerning nuclear disarmament as a club in their fight against the Sentinel antimissile defense system.

More disturbing, however, is the possibility that liberals and radicals, like Dr. Strangelove, have simply "learned to live with the bomb." The peace movement, of necessity, has shifted criticism from missiles and warheads to napalm and counter-insurgency. The generation of SANE and the Student Peace Movement is succeeded by that of Clergy Concerned and SDS. The menace of a new arms race may counteract this tendency. But meanwhile the assumption has spread that a world of many nuclear powers might be as stable as the bipolar "balance of terror" has lately appeared to be. Furthermore, sympathy for the Third World or Gaullist non-conformism renders incredible, or even ludicrous, the implicit assumption of some non-proliferation advocates that only Americans and Soviets, of all people, are mature enough to handle nuclear weapons.

Yet unless one believes that nuclear weapons are just too horrible and humans just too smart ever to use them again—shades of Mr. Nobel and his hopes for dynamite!—the possibility of proliferation should be unnerving. The international system would not be one of stable deterrence at all, but rather of a whole series of unstable arms races, overlapping and feeding back in deadly patterns. An Indian bomb to deter China (and experts have told Congress that India could have nuclear arms in six months) might require a Pakistani bomb to deter India. Since India's nuclear armament would be inferior to China's, a nuclear threat from Peking might call forth a nuclear threat from Washington to cover New Delhi, or a border incident might lead the Indians into a preemptive strike; or if Pakistan's weaponry were inferior to India's, a conflict between those two nations might draw in China, in turn drawing in the U.S., and so on. Stanley Hoffman described a series of such frightening scenarios in the American Assembly's *A World of Nuclear Powers?*

The point is that various nations would always be passing through the phases of non-hardened weapons or primitive delivery systems which would either limit their own deterrence capacities to surprise attacks on first strikes, or which, on the other hand, would tempt their opponents to "kill the snake in the egg." Enormous sums would be diverted from more rational purposes. The desire of super-powers neither to be dragged into Armageddon by their smaller partners nor to abandon these partners to nuclear blackmail or destruction might infect alliances with an intolerably dangerous degree of ambiguity. Then there are the increased chances of irrational leadership or nuclear mishap. The world would constantly stand on the verge of a new Sarajevo.

Critical Objective

None of which proves that nuclear proliferation can indeed be halted at all, or that the present treaty is the best instrument to that end. It does suggest that non-proliferation remains a critical objective, and that criticism of the treaty ought to be directed toward making it more effective rather than exposing the admitted self-interest of the super-powers.

In fact, the treaty is a good, if modest, beginning. The ambiguity regarding regional nuclear armament is there, yes, and other shortcomings as well; but that only raises the old question of half a loaf, and all the metaphysical arguments attendant thereon. The whole loaf might link non-proliferation firmly with some concrete and substantial super-power disarmament; it might also give a clear "no" to the question of West German participation in a nuclear force. But the first proposal would surely postpone the treaty past the time when it could be effective in halting the drift to proliferation. The second proposal risks, as does even the present treaty, a political reaction within West Germany by giving nationalists there a handy issue. As for guarantees to non-nuclear nations, they are highly delicate and highly dangerous matters, capable of transforming local incidents into world disaster.

The treaty could be rendered worthless or even self-defeating—if it is not part of an over-all anti-proliferation policy. (As a precedent, there is the well-intentioned Eisenhower "atoms-for-peace" program, which most experts now agree helped rather than hindered proliferation.) Any anti-proliferation policy must begin with a U.S.-Soviet agreement to halt the new arms race in antimissile defense systems and additional weapons developments.

This could lead to extending the test ban to underground testing, a step blocked so far by the need to test antimissile devices. Further measures might be international inspection or ownership of all diffusion plants and chemical separation plants, and the establishment of non-nuclear zones beginning with Latin America and Africa.

On the political level, the emergence in peace-making efforts of a self-conscious non-nuclear club of nations like Canada, Germany, Japan, India, and Sweden, which would have renounced their obvious nuclear potential, might dissociate international prestige from possession of nuclear arms.

All claims to international ranking on the basis of nuclear armaments should be abandoned. Finally, and more immediately, a U.S.-Soviet understanding over the minimal security needs of India and Israel might allow those nations to forego nuclear weapons without leading to the kind of unilateral and automatic nuclear "guarantee" that could bring on a fatal East-West confrontation.

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End of the honeymoon in Holland?

POST-MARITAL PRIESTHOOD

FREDERICK FRANCK

Hardly a month ago at their Pastoral Council the Dutch bishops and their flock were celebrating a democratic love-feast together. They surely did not expect a time-bomb that seemed safely defused suddenly to explode in Amsterdam. But it did, and the fall-out is still settling.

The story of student-pastor Jos Vrijburg has been told in the press. It must be summarized here, for what originally seemed a somewhat unjustified blow-up of the problems around an individual priest who after his impending marriage seeks to continue his ministry, has now escalated into a first-rate ecclesial dilemma. It threatens to rend the brittle fabric of the Dutch Church and even that of the Dutch Province of the Society of Jesus. In fact it might spread to Jesuit headquarters in Rome.

The Amsterdam student-parish is an experimental parish including some 50% university students and 50% committed sundry intellectuals. Whereas Amsterdam churches are far from overcrowded on weekends, the St. Ignatius chapel for the last eight years has been filled to capacity during four consecutive Sunday masses. It is without doubt one of the most vital parishes in the whole country.

Five Jesuit priests have created this enthusiastic participation by some 3000 regular parishioners and another 1000 who go there when they go to any church at all. This inspiring leadership is due to a remarkable closely-knit team, consisting of Jan van Kilsdonk, S.J., 52, well-known because of his various conflicts with Rome, which in 1965 demanded his dismissal; the popular student-pastor, however, was protected by the late bishop Doodewaard of Haarlem, who refused to fire him. With him work the extremely gifted liturgist and psalm-translator, Huub Oosterhuis, S.J., 35, poet-laureate of Catholic Holland, whose latest book on poetry and liturgical texts will soon be published by Herder & Herder, New York; the painter-priest Ton van der Stap, S.J., 35, and the soon-to-be-married Jos Vrijburg, ex-S.J., 36. A fifth Jesuit at St. Ignatius, Fr. Dresen, is more conservative and as such not fully integrated in this team.

When in 1968 Jos Vrijburg announced his intention to marry and afterwards to continue his ministry, he was not only supported by 97% of the parish-regulars, but also by his three colleagues, who regard him as an indispensable teammate. They decided to make this case a test case and to suspend their highly successful Sunday-services unless some accommodation with their bishop, Msgr. T. Zwartkruis of Haarlem, could be worked out by March 1st, 1969.

At first it appeared that such a compromise would surely be found, and Zwartkruis seemed inclined to allow Fr. Vrijburg to continue preaching, although not to celebrate the Eucharist. But slowly the relationship with Bishop Zwartkruis began to sour. He expressed distrust in the promise of the team to truly limit Vrijburg's role to preaching. Whether this distrust was the real reason of the bishop's hardened stand is a matter of conjecture.

A letter to Vrijburg by Fr. Walter Goddijn, secretary-general of the Dutch Pastoral Council, indicated quite clearly, that the Dutch episcopate as a body was not prepared to stick out its collective neck in the celibacy conflict, which Rome from its side might also well see as a loyalty test case. They firmly refused to anticipate the decisions of the European Bishops' Conference at Chur, Switzerland, this spring and next autumn's Synod. A letter purported to have been written to the Pope by the episcopate on the problems of celibacy in the Dutch Church has, to the displeasure of many people, not been published.

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The astonishingly conciliatory articles by Signor Alessandrini in the *Osservatore Romano* on the subject of Holland, as well as pacificatory noises by Msgr. Casaroli of the Secretariat of State were greeted with too obvious sighs of relief by the bishops, and Cardinal Alfrink all too quickly urged the Dutch to "grasp the hand of friendship extended by Rome." That new demands for further "corrections" in the New Catechism were received almost simultaneously with all these kind effusions from Rome was hardly announced. The demands have until now been left carefully and discreetly unpublished.

A new wave of malaise now threatens to sweep over the Dutch Church. The proverbial sincerity of the democratic posture of its bishops is being questioned. Was it perhaps less substantial than it appeared, a mere tactic which collapses as soon as Rome calls a limit? Risking open conflict with Rome without the support of their colleagues is obviously what the Dutch bishops want to avoid at almost any price. But the confidence of the progressive Dutch Catholics is a high price indeed.

On January 26th a sermon by Fr. Oosterhuis made it clear that the Vrijburg case had given rise within the team to a self-questioning which goes far beyond the original demand of guaranteeing their colleague's further activity. In this soul-searching the whole parish of a few thousand people is now taking part, but it also goes much further than this parish, as became clear during three evenings of "hearings," question-and-answer periods between the team and all those parishioners and interested persons who wished to take part in this dialogue. The support for the stand of the student-pastors was overwhelming.

In his sermon Fr. Oosterhuis expressed the self-examination within the team in most radical terms: "We who are gathered here do not pretend to be 'the Church.' We are just people who come together to be confirmed in our faith, in our orientation on that unforgettable human being Jesus of Nazareth, that he may be for us a vision of human hope, freedom and justice. . . . Our services in this chapel," he declared, "do not mean our proclamation of that 'official Church,' which still asserts that it is centered in Rome, that it is the only true Church and that goes on pretending to the highest competence in all problems of human life and which boasts about a world-episcopate of which numberless members live in constant symbiosis with political systems and dictatorships which perpetuate inhuman social conditions . . . that Church which still insists on wielding power over consciences, yet is incapable of admitting any errors. We feel estranged from this Church, we find it a phantasm, we don't serve her because we do not believe in her. Its highest authority takes the liberty to correct our New Catechism with notions that we and many with us see as a caricature of of what we undergo and proclaim in the breaking of Bread . . ."

Oosterhuis asked himself if what happens in the St. Ignatius chapel can still legitimately be seen within that "unity" demanded by the official Church, or whether his team has yielded to the temptation of continuing a by now slightly dishonest game, "as if our estrangement had gone less far than in reality it has." But on the other hand, the team feels that in its services it keeps open the possibility for a large group of people to continue its orientation toward the Gospel and God and to give expression to its awareness of community. Since the bishop had been tolerant enough not to interfere with these services—although, notwithstanding constant invitations, he had never attended them—it was assumed and hoped that within this experimental, free set-up he would also be willing to countenance Vrijburg's continued ministry and "thereby to tolerate and recognize those new insights into faith which are springing up everywhere outside and often against the official structures."

According to Oosterhuis as spokesman for the pastors, Cardinal Alfrink's speech to the Utrecht student-parish on January 19th shows the incapacity of the official Church to react creatively to new situations. Disappointingly conventional and theologically unsophisticated, it showed no sign of "give" in the bishops' attitude, and so Oosterhuis reiterated the pastors' intention to stop services as of March 1st. However, he added that if the congregation should come through with strong, convincing signs of wanting to continue, the pastors would do so, but in a "free configuration," independent from the bishops' jurisdiction, but clearly regarding itself as being "within the Church."

With this Oosterhuis sermon a "mini-schism" starting in Amsterdam became a distinct possibility, but it would be unlikely to be confined to Amsterdam, for St. Ignatius is a pilot project which excites people all over Holland. This was demonstrated during the "hearings" by the solid support by Catholic students and others who had traveled to Amsterdam to be present, as did an action-group of 72 diocesan priests of the Amsterdam region who demand the end of obligatory celibacy (within the last week this group grew to 129) and a delegation of younger Jesuit-supporters from Nijmegen. During the "hearings" many voices, however, urged continued efforts to preserve the ties with the Dutch Episcopate and offered to mediate in order to reach some kind of compromise. Only the students in their overwhelming majority favored abandoning all diplomatic dilly-dallying and going it alone in "free configuration."

Bishop Zwartkruis' TV rejoinder to Oosterhuis started by admitting the shocking shortcomings of the official Church (where, but in Holland?), carefully paid homage to the sincerity of the Amsterdam pastors, but ended in a moralizing appeal to their humility and to preservation of that very type of "unity" which they so clearly despise. Thus he demonstrated the bishops' powerlessness and lack of insight in the deadlock.

The Provincial of the Dutch Jesuits, Jan Hermans, in

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an interview partly supported the pastors, but expressed his hope for an honorable accommodation. Fr. F. Haarsma, Professor of Pastoral Psychology at the University of Nijmegen, (often mentioned as a likely successor to Alfrink) in an article in the conservative Catholic daily *De Tijd*, also called the Cardinal's argumentation weak and reminded the bishops that their "collegiality" within the world-episcopate does not at all imply automatic conformism with majority views. He urged continued dialogue, compromise and avoidance of the *fait accompli* of cutting off the pastors.

Schillebeeckx, who had kept mum during the entire wrangle, wrote in the French *Témoignage Chrétien* not irrelevantly that "young people including younger priests are highly sensitive to the presence of Christ in the community directly and not just via the hierarchy. The hierarchical role is accepted as something additional, auxiliary to what is already taking place in the Christian community itself, thus changing the entire concept of the role of the hierarchy."

In a profound and very dignified "Open Letter" to the bishops (Feb. 9) the pastors once more clarified their stand and defined their faith in the Gospel, as a "challenge to all status quo, a call to hope and freedom and to the liberation of man from subjection by all the powers that terrorize him and keep him a prisoner of anxiety and infantilism." They also elucidate their understanding of unity as "a dynamic process of growth towards one another" and reject all conventional appeals to a "unity, which is merely doctrinal, static, formal and administrative."

On February 11th all hope seemed dashed as the Dutch bishops, gathered at Breda, decided to cut the knot and officially forbade preaching to their married priests, while still affirming unspecifically the desirability of "integrating these priests in pastoral work." They promised to exert their influence at the forthcoming bishops' gatherings in support of a solution to the celibacy problem, as well they might for it is generally rumored that a poll amongst all Dutch priests on the subject is so embarrassingly unanimous that its publication is being postponed. After that it would be hard to convey the general astonishment when Bishop Zwartkruis, the day following the cutting of the knot, offered to try and glue it together again by inviting Vrijburg to discuss the possibility of "preaching outside of Eucharistic services." The bishops are clearly unhappy and feel uncomfortable with the idea of causing an exodus in Amsterdam. A frequent question here is whether they are under more pressure from Rome or from their own hang-ups. Whatever the answer, as of today a compromise looks likely again. (See page 720)

Coincidence or not, also on February 11th a letter arrived at St. Ignatius from General Arrupe of the Society of Jesus to all Dutch Jesuits. It admonished the team and demanded retraction of the bold sermon of January 26th as being "divisive," while praising the good things accomplished by the student-parish. It is known that Fr. M. Schoenenberger, S.J., assistant for the Germanic countries to the General, had returned home after listening to the "hearings" intending to give a positive evaluation of the St. Ignatius team. Obviously he has been disavowed by his superior and he is said to have resigned as assistant.

There are also persistent reports that the Dutch Provincial considers quitting and that a split in the Dutch Province of the Society of Jesus is clearly discernible—reports that have the lifespan of about a day are denied the next day and revived the third. Still it seems certain that simultaneously with Fr. Schoenenberger's positive report in Rome, there arrived an extremely alarmist letter from the Papal Nuncio in The Hague (whose understanding of the Dutch bluntness is probably as weak as the Dutch understanding of curial subtleties) confusing Arrupe and not a few others. Insiders here view the impasse as not unconnected with an attempt at a neo-inquisition which they believe is obviously sweeping the official Church. Not only the abortive Schillebeeckx affair, but the liquidation of Bishop Schoiswhol and Msgr. Illich, the silencing of Fr. Cardonnel in France, the recent pronouncements by Cardinal Felici (again scheduled to be the key-person at the Synod) on celibacy, etc., are quoted as typical examples.

Still there are signs also coming from the Eternal City that even there one gets an inkling that all roads are by no means any longer leading to Rome, but, as likely, away from it. Giuseppe de Rosa, S.J., recently revealed in *Civiltà Cattolica*, for example, his impression "that in Holland but also in other countries one may speak of a radical devaluation of the institutional Church and its traditional structures, nearly as if precisely these structures were suffocating religious life. . . ." He also observes "a general longing for autonomy in relation to Rome."

Judging by Amsterdam, the diagnosis is as correct as it is understated. Here one can see a new and revolutionary spirit, a new Catholic conscience in full development, an attitude towards religion which is as committed as it is extremely sensitized to all untruth and sanctimoniousness. This new attitude has nothing but distrust and contempt for that Roman curial mentality which during and after Vatican II has constantly displayed itself as the unbeatable virtuoso of stratagem and maneuver. Outside of Rome, this virtuosity seems doomed to be self-defeating.

The Dutch bishops are said to be increasingly aware that if they are to be respected as spiritual leaders, the standards of veracity, of ethical and spiritual sensitivity that are expected of them cannot be inferior to those required in the community itself. As to the Pope, I heard it regretted here that he should insist so compulsively on being a kind of reincarnation of Peter, instead of simply showing the qualities expected of Christ's representative. As in his predecessor, these would be instantly recognized.

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Confrontation with the liberal militants

BLACKS AT BRANDEIS

MICHAEL ROSENTHAL, with PAMELA RITTERMAN and BOB SHERMAN

Brandeis University has been in the throes of liberalism since its inception in 1948. It courageously withstood the assault of McCarthyism and remained unremittingly liberal into the 60's, while assault gave way to blandishment and courage to a somewhat self-satisfied daring. The passage of time made no dent on the University's public image or private self-estimate as a progressive and academically stimulating school. Therefore, when black students seized a building and issued ten "non-negotiable" demands, the concerned public responded with shock and outrage. (Righteous indignation, as a *Village Voice* columnist has observed, is the Jewish form of anger.)

Confrontations with Columbia or San Francisco State could be understood, even tolerated, for these were autocratic institutions with demonstrably racist policies. But this past year Brandeis had even doubled its enrollment of black students, including many ghetto blacks. An attack on such an institution could reveal only the mindless fury of Black Militancy, alienating the Negro's best friends and distracting from the *real* enemy.

In fact, the blacks at Brandeis had performed an historic gesture. This had not been their intention: Brandeis was "attacked" because Brandeis was where they happened to be, not because of its liberalism but because of its inadequacy. Nevertheless, their action and its consequences revealed that the archaic mechanics of institutionalized racism are not the sole, or most relevant enemy. White liberal benevolence, the flower of our society, had proved itself unable to accommodate, or even comprehend black needs.

Liberalism cannot properly be examined as a flabby compromise between genial good-will and compliance with the powers that be. It is a highly structured belief in the socially curative power of the professional middle class. Armed with wisdom and know-how, the professional administers to the ills of society, constructing right order and dispensing aid and justice to the oppressed. Liberalism represents the highest expression of managerial vision; the healthy society, in its view, is the society properly managed.

With regard to the university the liberal exalts the free and open interchange of ideas, removed from social pressure and social restrictions, leading inevitably to the enhancement of culture and the advance of justice. An unassailable thesis, until it is recalled that only the white middle class has the leisure to remove itself from social pressure and social restriction, and that the free and open interchange is restricted to a rather exclusive professional caste. The thesis can then be more objectively rephrased: what is good for us is good for the community.

The blacks on campus threatened by their very presence a deep and normally unspoken liberal instinct, for they embodied an element of the community whose interests ran counter to the smooth functioning of administrative procedure. The University had found it easy to serve the needs of ghetto blacks, so long as the blacks remained in the ghetto. Their appearance on campus in substantial numbers presented unforeseen difficulties. Social interaction became strained, as the children of the white middle class found themselves trapped in a bind of their own good intentions. Having neither common backgrounds nor common prospects, they felt it hard to approach the blacks, yet unthinkable to ignore them. Approaches, when made, were frequently halting and clumsy, increasing the general discomfort. Racial tension does not always depend on race hatred—it was a fact of life at Brandeis, never openly avowed or discussed, thriving under silence as a sexual urge thrives under repression.

More crucial was the blacks' feeling that the standard liberal arts curriculum, which had now been made available to them, had little to offer. To observe that the American university is geared towards serving the cultural needs of its white clientele is not to accuse it of malicious racism. Since the middle ages, the university's function has been to prepare members of the elite for positions of eventual authority. Democracy has vastly enlarged the composition of that elite, but has not changed its essential orientation. The perspectives needed for managing the uplift of oppressed peoples are foreign and useless to the oppressed themselves. For instance, when blacks enrolled in those courses on black history already listed by the University, they found themselves obliged to spend their time explaining to the white students how it felt to be black. At best, they were learning nothing, and at worst they found themselves objects of study, "specimen cases," and they developed a distressing flair for polemic.

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The whole notion of black consciousness has always mystified and antagonized liberals. The disciplines, they say, are objective systems for structuring knowledge, in no way related to color. The black should be able to gain as much as the white from such fields as economics or biology. The liberal overlooks the need of each person to understand himself in relation to the continuity of his heritage. Prospects for the future exist as an extension of one's cultural past. For whites, the heritage is part of the great Western tradition within which the various disciplines were developed. (No one has ever had difficulty with the concept of Western consciousness.) For blacks, that heritage had never been organized or made accessible; it would have to be a discipline in the making. Even if one called it a subculture, it had comprised the entirety of their life-experience. To force-feed them now with the Western ideals from which they had never benefited would be parody.

The University's solution to their need was a concentration (major) in Afro-American studies, to be assembled largely from those courses already available, combined with a proviso that the student specialize in some *real* discipline. It became clear to the blacks that their opportunity was limited to enrollment as apprentice white liberals and their response was nearly unanimous. Although 15 students initiated the seizure, they were soon joined by virtually all the American-born blacks (the Africans kept their own counsel), giving the Hall, renamed Malcolm X University, a resident population of about 100.

If the sources of racial unease at Brandeis had been murky and undefined before the seizure, the ten demands issued by the blacks should have provided the necessary clarification. Most of them simply required adherence to promises made to the blacks last April, shortly after Doctor King's murder, days rich with promises made by liberal institutions who found it impolitic to do otherwise. Covering such matters as scholarships for poor blacks and recruitment of black and other professors from the third world, they were entirely in keeping with the University's announced beliefs. Certainly, in a faculty which contained only two blacks out of some 250, the free and open interchange of ideas was subject to some serious limitations.

It would not be entirely accurate to say the promises were broken. The Administration had submitted them to standard bureaucratic procedure, and matters were always somehow arising that required more immediate attention. Some promises indeed had been honored after a fashion, like the King scholarships conferred in titular form on blacks already receiving scholarship funds. No one could honestly accuse Brandeis of racial bias; it was all part of the grand old game of bureaucratic finagling which, it was assumed, the blacks could master for themselves if they hung around long enough. However, the promises, if not kept, had undeniably been made; this tautology enabled Brandeis President Morris Abram to confide, with the delicate inexactitude that characterized his dealings with the press, that seven of the ten demands had been met before the blacks entered the building.

Two of the others were minor, and quickly settled, leaving one remaining demand on which President Abram could not equivocate. The black students wanted the establishment of a full department of African and Afro-American Studies, with rights and stature equal to that of any other department; they wished further to be instrumental in the selection of its chairman. Under normal procedure, a committee of the faculty makes the selection, since they can best judge the qualifications involved. But the creation of a field of knowledge is an uncommon undertaking requiring uncommon methods. The white faculty, having no conception of this culture-in-the-making, could not possibly know who was or was not competent to organize the study of it. The black students, after some negotiation, demanded a selection committee composed of three black students, three black academics to be selected by the administration, and the Dean of Faculty. The alteration of standard selection procedure was necessary to assure the formation of a meaningful department; it was not a central aim in itself. The blacks had little interest in Student Power. Once chosen, the chairman was to control all hiring and firing.

The issue, then, was one of substance. During the integration struggle, the well-meaning white had said: I know what you need and it is what I have. I'll share it with you. At Brandeis, the blacks were saying: We know what we need, and it's not what you have. It is something that has never existed before, that we are creating. You can apply the power you have to help us get what we need. Are you willing to try?

The faculty and administration never answered. It is unlikely that they even heard. For one thing, they had always been wary of black studies. The liberal university is admirably equipped to expand or enrich existing disciplines, but not to promote a discipline in the making. Although the ideology of liberalism is based on the notion of progress, and while several disciplines (sociology, for one) have taken shape under its auspices, the formation of that ideology emerged from the struggle of the professional class to attain recognition and authority. Once its members were established, the true goal behind the "ideal" of social transformation had been achieved; further development would have to be an elaboration of the status quo.

Professional liberalism is therefore a self-contained contradiction: a belief in continued social progress whose proponents are committed, for the security of their position, to social stasis. When pressures for social reforms threaten, or appear to threaten, that security, professionals become militantly conservative (e.g., the AMA).

The issue of black studies posed such a threat. The

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conventional disciplines have clearly defined parameters, permitting standardized proof of eligibility for admission into the guild. An interdisciplinary department, a culture in the making, would of necessity violate professional safeguards. When the blacks suggested that the faculty were not invariably in a proper position to determine competence, suspicions were confirmed and hardened into intransigence.

The faculty at Brandeis are brighter, more concerned and more imaginative than at most other schools. They are a faculty with many of the lethal impurities removed —but the defects of social vision adhere to social position. From their standpoint the selection clause was the paramount issue and eclipsed all else. It raised the specter of Student Power, and symbolically attacked their institutional prerogatives. Perceiving the issue symbolically, they reacted accordingly: We will not be humbled, we will not be brought to our knees.

The close connection between formal concern and symbolism was neither accidental nor avoidable; for the formality of administrative procedure is itself a symbolic ritual. The status of each member of the system is affirmed in the carefully weighed portion of decision-making power assigned to him. Frequently, it provides the only objective manifestation of otherwise intangible advantages of his Ph.D. and becomes invested with intense symbolic moment.

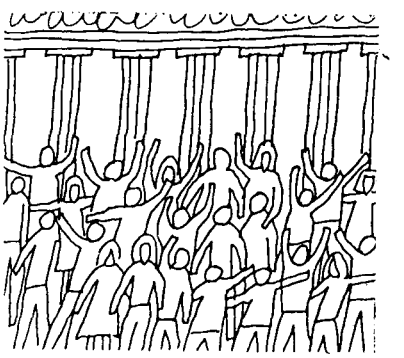
Keeping the nation posted, President Abram informed the press repeatedly that the blacks wanted "complete jurisdiction" over the department, including all hiring and firing, a demand beyond the tolerance of even the most tolerant of men. President Abram was not, perhaps, consciously lying. He may simply have assumed that the blacks' prime objective was to overturn procedure, and that one concession would lead to another (give them an inch . . .). Making a logical extrapolation, perhaps, he omitted only the future tense.

In this fashion, with both sides speaking entirely different languages, negotiation became almost pointless. Statements of substance made by the blacks were translated by the faculty into symbolic threats, while symbolic responses of the faculty and administration were translated by the blacks into racist substance. For example, the faculty decided, as an extreme concession, to give the blacks their department, and even let them suggest potential chairmen, so long as final authority over the selection (short of an unlikely Presidential veto) remained with the faculty. They were probably unaware that they had defeated the entire substantive purpose of the demand, while the blacks were probably unaware that the faculty had intended a concession at all in what seemed a smoke-screen of double-talk. Positions polarized and official negotiation reached a stalemate.

It is noteworthy, given recent events elsewhere, that only once during the crisis was any reference made to anti-Semitism, despite the social and financial association of Brandeis with American Jewry. The exception was a document circulated by several gentlemen from the social science departments, who deplored even negotiation while the occupation was in force: because it would "confirm the mistaken views of the aggrieved black students, for whose frustrations we have the utmost sympathy," and because "we offend the sensibilities of the Jewish constituency which . . . has learned from bitter experience what capitulation under the threat and use of force and violence can do."

By virtue of their single-handed, quixotic attempt to inject religious paranoia into the discussion, these gentlemen could lay claim to a place among the very few faculty whose actions achieved moral stature. Among the signers was John Roche, advisor to Presidents, who was to inform readers of his syndicated column that Afro-American studies would provide an academic haven for blacks, who are, of course, "totally unequipped" to compete with their highly articulate white schoolmates.

Little mention has been made, thus far, of their highly articulate white schoolmates, an accurate measure of their influence. Most of them, including the Student Council, supported the Administration-Faculty position,



and having thus to their satisfaction dissociated themselves from the radicals, returned to their studies (exams being then two weeks distant). The radicals, about one-fifth of the student body, found themselves incapable of effective supporting action. The New Left has a somewhat revivalist quality: radical action usually involves self-transformation, even self-purification. It is hard to reconcile this with action of an entirely supportive nature; and by the time the radicals had worked out their relation to initiative, the opportunity had passed.

Finally, after 11 days of occupation the blacks emerged from the building. They did not leave in force, or with any show of power. One by one, or in small groups, they went deliberately about their business, loading food and sleeping-bags into campers, while others stayed behind to clean up. The white radicals stood by in bewildered clumps, backing off as each black passed, as if to question would be deemed an extravagant effrontery. As the banner of Malcolm X University was withdrawn from an upper window, the whites roamed about in search of clarification, like *papparazzi* covering the last day of camp.

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Later information increased the bewilderment. The blacks made a quick, ambiguous statement about pressing the fight on other fronts, and split. President Abram convened a press conference, claimed that no concession of any sort had been made, and spread words of good cheer. The end of the crisis was stunningly abrupt, unclear and unresolved.

If confrontation politics conveys the promise of emotional catharsis, the crystallization of vague anxiety into unambiguous conflict, then the Brandeis seizure did not conform. No one except the blacks knew why they left when they did, and they weren't telling. No one knew what had been lost or gained, and by whom, or even what issues had been joined.

Nothing has happened since, but rumors flow. We have heard from blacks of secret agreements and betrayals, of draft reclassifications and a deportation notice. Some white radicals are beginning to speculate as to their action in the event of another seizure, but no foundation for their fear seems in evidence. From all this morass of confusion and anxiety only one thing has emerged with clarity. The University has been faced with a choice between moral and social self-interest. Its long liberal vacation from history is over.

Mexican Americans will be heard

RUMBLES ALONG THE RIO

PATRICK H. McNAMARA

"We have been an oppressed people. We are tired of it and have had enough." An outcry from Black militants in Chicago? San Francisco? New York? Not so. Attorney Mike Gonsalez of Del Rio, Texas, appearing before the December hearings of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in San Antonio, simply uttered what countless Mexican Americans throughout the Southwest have felt for decades. Now they demand to be heard, insisting that the "Anglo" power structures redress a century's grievances.

For five days the Commissioners' ears were bombarded with allegations, often bitterly expressed. Commission member Hector Garcia, a Corpus Christi physician and long-time fighter for "la causa," joined witnesses in a blast against those fabled heroes of the wild west, the Texas Rangers. Harassment of Mexican Americans and failure to use reasonable restraint were among the charges. Rangers were accused of intimidating Mexican Americans, entering into collusion with growers and local law enforcement officials in the lower Rio Grande Valley to break up strike efforts of Mexican American field workers.

More sedate institutions were abruptly put on the firing line. Federal reserve banks in Texas, said witnesses, discriminated against Mexican Americans in hiring practices. Garcia added a mild bombshell: if the complaints were verified, the Commission might well recommend that the U.S. Treasury Department remove its deposits from the offending institutions.

A more glaring target was San Antonio's largest single employer, Kelly Air Force Base, the nation's chief repair depot for aircraft damaged in the Vietnam conflict. A report last July of the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission provided the ammunition. Hiring practices were not questioned. Mexican Americans comprise almost 44 percent of the 23,000 base employees. But promotions and advancement reveal another story. Mexican Americans make up only 28 percent of white collar employees, and in the top employment levels —GS 11 and above—constitute a mere 8 percent.

Particularly impressive during the packed hearings was the testimony of Julio and Luis Chavez. Students at an 85 percent Mexican American high school in the lower Rio Grande Valley, they had joined 59 other students last November in a classroom boycott—a real first for south Texas, hardly a traditional area of social protest (thanks partly to the eternal vigilance of the Texas Rangers!). Astounded administrators heard the students demanding better school facilities and permission to speak Spanish on the school grounds "without being subjected to humiliating or unjust penalties" (examples: a special "Spanish detention" class or whacks with a paddle). Startled into action by the students' singing "We Shall Overcome," the principal suspended them for 3 days and subsequently expelled them. The school board canceled a meeting at which students announced they would appear.

Such conventional tactics might well have broken the back of a demonstration 5 or 10 years ago. Not today. The students appealed immediately to the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund headquartered in San Antonio. A battery of Mexican American lawyers filed suit against the school board, and in December, a federal district judge in Brownsville found regulations prohibiting the

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use of Spanish in classrooms and school grounds unconstitutional, ordered the board to readmit the students and remove the expulsion from their records, and as a final blow, required the school to reimburse the students for transportation and tuition incurred for having to attend schools outside the district.

As a result of this decision, school boards throughout south and west Texas are under pressure to remove long-standing regulations prohibiting the speaking of Spanish (a walkout in El Paso's largest predominantly Mexican American high school was narrowly averted recently when school officials agreed to drop enforcement of this rule). Other demands in the south Texas high school controversy: courses stressing Mexican American contributions to Texas and southwestern history; more adequate counseling personnel and procedures to keep students from being arbitrarily shunted into non-college-prep tracks; better dissemination of information on career opportunities, scholarships, grants, loans, and college entrance requirements.

The larger issues remain, of course, but are currently under attack. The New Braunfels, Texas, Independent School District was recently named as defendant in a suit brought by 24 Mexican American parents in the District. School officials, charged the plaintiffs, "operate a racially and ethnically segregated school system." Students "are assigned to the tracks or grades based on tests which are foreign to their culture, socioeconomic background and experience." More importantly, a suit filed last July in San Antonio, challenges the constitutionality of the section of Texas law providing that all property and other taxes levied within a school district must be spent within and for that district. The result, in a state honeycombed with independent school districts, is that more affluent districts provide substantially more education dollars per pupil than poorer districts. The majority of victims are, of course, Mexican American students consigned to schools forced to underpay teachers and provide substandard facilities and programs for the students.

Economic Status

Welfare programs in Texas barely limp along in a State never congenial to the idea of public assistance. Texas voters turned down last November a proposed state constitutional amendment to raise the welfare ceiling from 60 to 75 million (Texas is the only state with a constitutional ceiling on annual welfare funds). Again, a majority of those affected are of Mexican descent.

Father Ralph Ruiz of the San Antonio Archdiocesan Inner-City Apostolate, who appeared in CBS-TV's documentary on hunger in America, testified before the Commission that monthly welfare payments for a mother with four dependent children had dropped from $135 to $123. He was especially critical of FBI agents employed by the U.S. House Committee on Appropriations who came to San Antonio, he charged, "to invade the privacy of the poor . . . to ask these people how much they make and what foods they eat." Their real purpose, he added, was simply to discredit reports of widespread hunger and malnutrition in San Antonio (a report substantiated by an October fact-finding team from the Worden School of Social Service at Our Lady of Lake College in San Antonio: over 100,000 persons from the city's low-income families existed on diets lacking sufficient proteins and carbohydrates).

What emerges clearly from the hearings is that the Mexican American in the Southwest is predominantly an *urban* dweller, sharing problems besetting other inner-city populations. Cesar Chavez' efforts on behalf of the farm workers have rightfully received a lion's share of publicity, but the simple fact is that the coming census will reveal even more sharply than the previous one that the vast majority of Mexican Americans live in cities. Their problems are no less acute than those of farm workers. The urban drop-out rate for Spanish-surname youngsters in the 16-17 year old age group equals the rural rate, which is twice as high as all persons of this grouping in the United States and exceeds the non-white drop-out rate throughout the Southwest. Juvenile gangs continue to roam streets and *barrios* in Los Angeles, San Antonio, and El Paso. A case in point: San Antonio's census tract 42 on the predominantly Mexican American west side. The 1960 census revealed a median yearly family income of $3,700 together with an extraordinarily youthful population—56 percent under age 19. The harvest today is thirty warring gangs, including many narcotics users, in a 2.5 square mile area.

Mexican Americans stand to be the chief beneficiaries of current proposals by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to reduce the number of "green-card workers," or Mexican citizens who cross the border daily (one Commission witness estimated their number at 160,000) to work in the United States. Besides lowering wage levels and depressing working conditions, the green-carders were alleged to have been used as strike-breakers in south Texas—a charge echoed by Cesar Chavez in his struggle against California grape growers. "This sounds to me like peonage," remarked Commission member Fr. Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame. "It's the closest it can come to slavery. There appears to be a complete denial of human rights." He promised to request the U.S. Attorney General to investigate the situation.

The Catholic Church in the Southwest is occasionally accused of "neglecting the real problems" by some militant spokesmen, but these charges ignore the forthright stands taken by church representatives on at least some social issues. Archbishop Robert E. Lucey's current imbroglio with a group of dissident priests in San Antonio unfortunately obscures his outstanding 40-year crusade for socioeconomic reforms on behalf of the Mexican American population. A typical Lucey broadside oc-

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curred in his testimony before the Commission hearings. Migrant farm workers, he stated, live "in the awful reality of serfdom." Failure to include them under the National Labor Relations Act means "there will be strikes, bitterness and divided communities."

The city's major War on Poverty program, SANYO, is under the directorship of Father John Yanta, whose civic reputation as a troubleshooter with delinquent gangs helped qualify him for the post. Few diocesan weeklies match the *Alamo Messenger* in its uncompromising stands on issues of social justice. Father William Killian's editorials consistently call for educational reforms, city and state minimum wage legislation, and an end to discrimination in housing and employment practices. Further south, Bishop Humberto Medeiros of Brownsville has been a leader in efforts to induce various industries to establish plants in his poverty-stricken diocese, with its vast majority of Mexican Americans.

Perhaps best known is a Mexican American priest, Father Henry Casso, Archbishop Lucey's episcopal vicar for the urban ministry. Appearing before legislative committees, speaking at conferences of businessmen, government officials, and Mexican American leaders, Casso has few peers as an ardent champion of "la causa." The Spanish-speaking, he insisted at a recent employer conference in Albuquerque, are disturbed at the obvious apathy of businessmen and government officials. "How long and how patient are we to expect our poor in the *barrios* to be. . . . frustration by natural events can be tolerated, but frustration caused by design. . . . who and for how long can one bear it?"

One answer to Father Casso's question comes from a small but growing number of younger Mexican Americans, many of them college students. Through their Los Angeles based weekly, *La Raza* and the more academic quarterly, *El Grito,* published in Berkeley, militant young people extol the "Chicano Movement." (Chicano: a slang and controversial term for "Mexican".) Its stated intent is to "polarize Chicanos and to inculcate a prideful self-awareness." The traditional stance: "when there was compromising to be done, it was done by Mexicans." Now: a cultural identity "strong enough to withstand the Anglo onslaught," and an attempt to "change the social attitudes of the Anglo society. This could be a painless process or it could hurt."

The parallels, even in this brief sketch, to Black militancy are obvious—and indeed, on some California campuses brown and black militant groups have acted in concert to demand such changes as curricula geared to the needs of minority group students. But a more important issue is the extent to which the militancy has the support of the wider Mexican American community. Little evidence is available to answer this question, but the support probably varies by region and by issue. New Mexico's Spanish-Americans boast their own brand of militancy symbolized in the fiery Reyes Tijerina, recently acquitted of charges of kidnapping, false imprisonment, and assault in his June, 1967 attempt to reclaim acres of grazing land now under the control of the National Forest Service. Preferring the term "Spanish-American" and proud of their distinct cultural background, New Mexicans are unlikely to embrace any movement emphasizing the Mexican cultural heritage. Texas Mexican Americans are only recently acquiring the base of educated leadership and socio-political awareness which function as the necessary underpinnings of a successful militant movement, elements fairly well developed in the California community.

On such issues as educational reforms, however, militants can count on considerable community support. In both the south Texas and the more publicized Los Angeles school walkouts in the spring of 1968, parents confronted school boards in firm support of their children's demands. Other issues—prison and jury reforms, appeals for political unity, attacking advertising which perpetuates Mexican stereotypes (the "Frito bandito" is a current target)—may appear, however justifiable in themselves, too limited or remote in the eyes of the larger community to engage its support. Nor is the middle generation (35 and above?) rendered benevolent by the small cadre of "Brown Beret" militants whose Che Guevara jackets and caps are odious to many upwardly mobile Mexican Americans intent on proving themselves 100 percent Americans (the latter, of course, are labeled "Tio Tomases" or "Vendidos"—Uncle Toms or sellouts—by the militants).

But the sleeping giant is awakening along the Rio Grande, the Pecos, and the Colorado. Five million people will be heard from, and the politicians, school officials, growers and businessmen had better know it. *Mañana* may well be a cliché of the past.

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CHARLES FARBER

THE SCREENS OF MEMORY

My father wore, all the life I knew him,
a cheek cyst. "My walnut," he called it.

He knocked his pipe against the bathtub
in the tomby A.M. and liked
to watch cats sleeping. "Metaphysically,"
he said, "their eyes are open."

In the bundled shadows of orchards
he worked hard against coming knuckles
of rain, before wind would twirl
the apples like planets. . . . .

and dozed
in the red balloon of the hearth.

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ALL THAT JAZZ I

A new breed assumes dominance

THE MUSIC OF MILITANCY

FRANK KOFSKY

For many close observers of the jazz *milieu,* the recent emergence of black nationalism as a serious political force in the ghetto has come as no surprise: they had seen it all before.

Certainly, black nationalist currents within jazz have been agitating whites long before the publications of the Luce Empire ultimately got around to printing pictures of Maulana Ron Karenga dressed in full tribal garb. As far back as a decade ago, readers of the jazz periodicals were being treated to recurrent denunciations of black nationalist-inspired artists such as bassist Charles Mingus, drummer Max Roach, Roach's wife, singer Abby Lincoln, and others. When, for example, the Roach-Lincoln team had the effrontery, early in the '60s, to speak out in word and song against white racism, writers—white, naturally—for *Down Beat,* the then-principal jazz magazine, lost no time in charging and convicting the pair with the crime of "Crow Jim-ism:"

The charge, of course was absurd, since it implied that radical black nationalists had nothing more elevating in mind than reversing this country's system of racial oppression. But then, as LeRoi Jones has frequently observed, white jazz journalists have never been noted for their sophistication, musical or political.

In any event, if the intent of the jazz writers was to stifle the burgeoning nationalist movement in jazz, it was totally ineffectual. Reasons are not far to seek. For one thing, jazz is one of the few areas in American life—perhaps *the* area—in which the ideal is defined by the black achievement: ever since the first Louis Armstrong sides, blacks have fashioned the great bulk of the innovations that have driven the music to new peaks. Thus most whites who strive to play it, of necessity take black artists as their models.

For another, the current generation of black musicians—largely Northern-born, public-school-educated, conservatory and/or university-trained—are much less likely to suffer indignities in silence than were their predecessors of bygone generations.

Finally, what rendered this situation ineluctably explosive was the simple but elemental fact of white control. The blacks might be the music's movers and shapers, but it was still whites—the Paul Whitemans (apt name!), the Benny Goodmans (proclaimed "King of Swing," remember?), the Dave Brubecks (first jazz musician to be singled out for the *Time* cover-story treatment)—who reaped the major material benefits. Archie Shepp, the outspokenly radical poet-playwright-actor-*cum*-tenor saxophonist, has a succinct formula for the jazz status quo: "You own the music, and we make it." With white money in command of the recording companies, the jazz "clubs," the concert and festival stages, the accuracy of Shepp's description becomes obvious.

Nonetheless, writers for socially conservative jazz publications like *Down Beat* have labored long and hard to create the impression that Shepp and his peers were animated solely by the passions of racial hatred. To do so they have had to ignore such blatant evidence to the contrary as the continued presence of white trombonist Roswell Rudd as a sideman in Shepp's myriad bands. Shepp's use of Rudd in his groups underscores the reality of the protest movement among young jazz militants: the real aim has never been the subjugation of whites, but the return of control over the music to the hands of those who make it.

The organizing efforts of Bill Dixon, who at one time co-led a group with Archie Shepp, offers a good case in point. Like Shepp, Dixon wears many hats: he is, by turns, a painter, writer, teacher, composer, and trumpeter. And organizer. In 1963, he put together the first "underground" festival to feature the best of the new jazz talents. He called his festival "The October Revolution" and, heartened by the favorable response, Dixon was able to persuade many of the participants to band together for mutual protection in a Jazz Composers Guild. Though the Guild finally ran aground on the shoals of color antagonism (there was, Dixon told writer Bob Levin, "a subtle, but apparent, indignation on the part of the white members . . . that a black man . . . could conceive and execute an idea that would be intelligent and beneficial to all"), it is virtually certain that further attempts along the same lines will be made. For the situation which first brought the Guild into existence—"You own the music, and we make it"—persists unchanged. Already, the brilliant pianist Cecil Taylor has called upon black musicians to boycott the American Federation of

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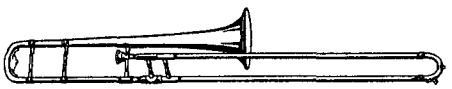
Musicians as an organization that takes black money but provides neither service nor protection to its black constituency.

During the '60s musicians such as Taylor have continually been in the forefront of the movement of the black community away from the institutions of white America, toward a tradition and an aesthetic that is uniquely their own (which does not mean, however, that sympathetic whites like Ros Rudd are to be excluded). This is true whether, as with Taylor, Bill Dixon and Archie Shepp, the issues are cast in socio-political language; or whether they are viewed as "purely artistic" questions. Either way, a massive revolt is under way against the more obvious sicknesses of a society that is racist in its central assumptions.

The late John Coltrane, for instance, was a man who felt more at ease with the discourse of religious mysticism than with that of politics. Yet it is clear that even the mysticism of Coltrane, whose innovations on tenor and soprano saxophone have sired an entire generation of younger disciples (he is undoubtedly the most important single figure in the music of the post-bebop period), has a social content. In effect, Coltrane called on men to commune with the (non-sectarian) Deity, and to abide by His laws by creating an equitable and egalitarian Beloved Community. In the titles of some of his compositions, moreover, pieces such as *Africa, India, Dahomey Dance,* he illustrated the tendency of the newer musicians to look to non-white sources for inspiration. Similarly with saxophonist-trumpeter-violinist Ornette Coleman, probably second only to Coltrane as a contemporary influence, and like him, something of a mystic. "I came up with a music that didn't require European laws," Coleman told one interviewer; it was, he said, "a revolutionary breakthrough" for the art.

If the music of Coltrane and Coleman is implicitly a repudiation of the White American Way of Life, that repudiation is made explicit by the avowed radicals such as Shepp, Dixon and Taylor. Thus Shepp, who unhesitatingly describes himself as "an antifascist artist," openly condemns the United States, which he compares to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, as "one of the most vicious, racist social systems in the world." Like many other jazz artists, black *and* white, Shepp admired the late Malcolm X, whom he has eulogized with a moving poem, "Malcolm, Malcolm—Semper Malcolm," on his *Fire Music* album. It is doubly fitting that Shepp takes Malcolm for his inspiration, for the assassinated leader was himself an inveterate follower of jazz.

Musician-critic Don Heckman, who, though white, has the advantage of being a first-hand participant in the new music, writes that, "Some of today's players conceive of jazz as a symbol of social change—even social revolution." As befits a poet, Shepp puts it more poetically: "Our vindication will be black, as the color of suffering is black, as Fidel is black, as Ho Chi Minh is black."



Genuine Dixieland: The Old Sound Dies

STEVEN V. ROBERTS

The newspapers recently carried an obituary of George Lewis, a name that does not mean much even to music lovers. But the death of George Lewis at 68 not only silences one of the truly great jazz clarinetists, it brings a little closer the extinction of genuine New Orleans jazz, the driving, soaring Dixieland sound that was wrenched out of the soul of the black South and spread around the world.

The last time I saw George Lewis was about a year ago. He was playing one of his stints at Preservation Hall, an old carriage house in New Orleans' French Quarter that looks more like a dingy warehouse than a concert hall, but provides the best showcase for traditional jazz anywhere. (Until it was started in 1961 it was almost impossible to hear true Dixieland outside of private parties in New Orleans.) During one break Lewis looked around at the five or six men playing with him and a sad smile crossed his worn brown face. "Look at all those grey heads," he said, "they won't be around much longer."

The band was really a remarkable group, men in their 60s and 70s who had lived through and helped shape the birth of jazz and still played the old tunes in the old ways. On trombone was Jim Robinson, pushing 80, my wife's favorite, who would look right at her when he stood up for his moody, smoldering solos and laugh with his eyes as she clapped with his rhythm. On cornet was DeDe Pierce, blind for at least 20 years, a stocky man with a raw, powerful horn and a voice that sounded like rusty pieces of iron rubbing against each other when he sang. At piano was Sweet Emma Barrett, a gaunt, toothless woman with a loping, melodic style and a reputation for carrying money in her stocking that periodically earned her a crack on the head from the local muggers. But the best was George Lewis, frail and sensitive, sitting with his legs crossed, lost in concentration, playing music that sounded like sweet, clear water tumbling over rocks, like birds in flight, delicate yet strong, suave yet innocent, mournful yet tinged with humor.

STEVEN V. ROBERTS, *a* New York Times *reporter who usually writes on politics, is a native-in-law of New Orleans.*

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Lewis was born in New Orleans in 1900, and he bought his first clarinet for $4 from a pawn shop when he was 10. He started playing professionally when he was 13, and much of his early experience came playing for funerals and street parades, marching along behind the popular bands in the "second line" of young musicians hoping for recognition. He graduated to the saloons and cat houses of Storyville, New Orleans' old red light district, which was later wiped out by the Navy. While Lewis became popular locally during the twenties and thirties there were never enough jobs, never enough money, never enough food. He remained virtually unknown outside his native city until the forties, when a great jazz revival brought researchers and recorders pouring into New Orleans, looking for the sources of traditional jazz. With the revival, Lewis' fame began to spread. In the fifties he led his own band around the country to rave notices, and even then people were calling it "what may very well be the last of the authentic New Orleans jazz bands." Today, experts agree that Lewis has probably been the most influential jazz clarinetist of all, a man whose phrasings and style have been copied throughout the world, whose warmth and clarity moved one writer to say that listening to George Lewis was "like being in church on Sunday morning."

What cannot be copied is the life of George Lewis, his years of poverty and despair, his family tragedies (only 5 of 11 children survived him), the life of a black man in the old South, the life of suffering that found its expression and its triumph in jazz—and destroyed many great jazz musicians. The black mood today, more angry and more prideful, has produced a harder, hipper sound. The old men, the ones still in touch with the sources of traditional jazz, are gradually passing. Preservation Hall has given them a chance to play, and to make a decent living, but when they finally go something important about the history of this country and its music will go with them.

The Ranks Thin Further

Two other well-known jazz musicians died recently. Dixieland was the bread-and-butter of Pee Wee Russell, famed for his unique and unorthodox clarinet solos. Jazz critic Carlton Brown once described his style as doing "with musical phrases just about what Joyce did with words. He breaks them up, violently rearranges their structure and accustomed order and puts them together into fascinating new patterns." Also dead, at 67, was jazz drummer Paul Barbarin, who played with King Oliver and Louis Armstrong in the '20s and '30s. He died last month after leading his band in a pre-Mardi Gras parade.

BABES IN ARMOR

THE STAGE

For several reasons, it is almost impossible for me to write a review of *Dames at Sea*, the "New-30's Musical" that has become the most "in" success of the season.

First of all, Jim Wise, who did the music, is a friend of mine and has been since we first met as graduate students at Columbia 20 years ago. I have followed his vicissitudes as a song writer as he peddled special material to club performers, worked to get songs into off-Broadway and cabaret revues, struggled over book shows that never came to fruition. I first heard most of Jim's songs, including many from *Dames at Sea*, bayed in his own inimitable voice while he karate-chopped his rented piano into respectable complaisance. How, then, could I help but feel a completely uncritical delight in his new success. To make matters worse, I saw the show not on the customary press tickets, but as Jim's guest, partly because the publicity man, with a marketable hit on his hands, was not about to waste his press seats on a magazine with the circulation of *Commonweal* and a reviewer so idiosyncratic in his coverage.

Second, I confess an abiding affection for 1930's musicals, so strong that I would willingly forego a little sleep to see a sixth television re-run of *Ready, Willing and Able* or *Go into Your Dance*. For me, one of the artistic triumphs of the past few months is the Contac ad on television which (using a 1920's song, it is true: "Button Up Your Overcoat") recreates a Busby Berkeley tap line with so authentic a feel that my pleasure drowns out the sales pitch. *Dames at Sea,* with only six performers and without a television advertising budget, could hardly hope to create such a grand effect—nor did it intend to—but it exudes a similar familiarity with the genuine 1930's musical. I was presupposed to like it, a presupposition that was all the stronger for my having seen the early, short version at the Cafe Cino in 1966.

Having said all this, let me take off my tap shoes and admit that, although I had a good time, particularly during the second act of the show, and although I was constantly aware of the rightness in the numbers and the performers, somewhere inside there was a nagging sense of disappointment. I think I know why, but before I go into that dance, let me indicate some of the virtues of the show. What Wise and his collaborators (George Haimsohn and Robin Miller, who did the book and lyrics) had in mind, I assume, was not so much a parody of the 1930's musical as a kind of wry testimonial to it. Every song, every scene, every gesture asks "do you remember?" and "wasn't it foolish?" in the same breath. The memories are at once generic and specific. The plot is a mixture of the standard show-business musical (the kids

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from the country, the show that goes on against odds, instant success) and the sailor comedy in which the seamen never have any duty runs (was it in *Shipmates Forever* that Ruby Keeler danced on the battleship while Dick Powell sang about never giving it up?). The lines are so familiar that a lady sitting behind me, obviously seeing the show for the first time, took to finishing speeches with the performers (". . . and you'll come back a STAR!"). All the standard songs are there, from the depression-uplift number ("Good Times Are Here to Stay") to the torch lament ("The Mister Man of Mine"). The latter, which starts out as a Morgan-Brice take-off, turns more specific, echoing the "Remember My Forgotten Man" number from *Gold Diggers of 1933*, as "Choo-Choo Honeymoon" suggests "Shuffle Off to Buffalo" from *42nd Street*. The expected characters are on hand; the young lovers (Ruby & Dick), the tough-comic underplot couple (Joan & Lucky, for which read Joan Blondell and Jack Oakie), the tyrannical star who is also the sophisticated other woman, the implacable authority figure who must unbend. They have been cast as nearly to type as possible in 1969 and they are played by young people (Bernadette Peters and David Christmas are repeating their Cino roles as Ruby and Dick) who have learned to stand, move, speak like exaggerated echoes of the past.

The caveat, the quibble. The foolishness of the 1930's musicals is not all retrospect and is not all foolish. Even while we watched those shows, babes in arms though we may have been, we were aware that there was too much too easily too soon. Still, as with the audiences of most popular art forms, we embraced the event even while we suspected it was spurious; we wanted Ruby Keeler to tap her way to stardom, as surely as we wanted the cavalry to save the settlers, the private eye to unmask Mr. Big, the loving comic couple to get back together, and we moved cheerfully through setback to triumph. Implicit in *Dames at Sea*, in the allegiance of the men who put it together, is this kind of double effect. I remember back at the Cino, where one could see the faces of the audience as easily as the figures on stage, that young kids, the Cino's regular clientele, came to laugh, got sucked into the story and ended by laughing with the show and at themselves. That innocence is gone from the current version. It is slicker, more self-conscious, a little condescending. Take Miss Peter's Ruby as an example, since she has been getting the lion's share of the good reviews. At the Cino, she might have been Ruby; now, she is saying look how cleverly I can play Ruby. It is all there—the foot resting on the toe, the drooping head, the shy response—but it is all in quotation marks. She milks effects so ostentatiously that there is almost time for a Busby Berkeley number between a line spoken to her and her reaction. Yet, she is symptomatic of the whole show. The audience loved it the evening I was there, but in their laughter I heard not the delight that I expected but a kind of self-congratulation, as though they were joining the production in doing something to—not for, not with—the 1930's musical.

From what I have seen, success has not spoiled Jim Wise, but it does seem to have left a mark on *Dames at Sea*.

GERALD WEALES

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GONE AWRY

THE SCREEN

A long time ago when we listened to radio (before TV became the nation's most popular advertising medium), one of the airwaves' comedians kept reminding us that people are crazier than anybody. Many years later now, the moviemakers seem to have caught up with the point and are turning out films that threaten to be a cycle about crazy and near-crazy people. How well they will do and how far they will go depends on what happens at the box office. *Caveat emptor.*

The best of the new bunch is an English suspense thriller made by the Boulting Brothers. "Twisted Nerve" is no mystery thriller. It starts right out with young Martin (well played by Hywel Bennett) visiting his Mongoloid brother in a mental institution. Next scene is in a store where Martin and Susan, a pretty student (Hayley Mills, no longer a Disney moppet but a young lady now) are attracted to the same toy duck; although the two don't know each other, Susan comes to the childish fellow's rescue when he steals the duck, and she pays for it. Then we see Martin at home, where he becomes "Georgie," a blubbering boy pampered by his mother (Phyllis Calvert) and scolded by his strict stepfather (Frank Finlay). And the rest of the film, which is full of menace and chills, shows schizophrenic Martin leaving home, getting a room at the lodging house run by Susan's mother, and as simple Georgie winning one and all by his boyish charm.

But we know nothing good can come of this, as Georgie attracts not only Susan but also her mother (played to the hilt by Billie Whitelaw). Director Roy Boulting builds up the suspense well. But Roy Boulting also wrote the script with Leo Marks; and the writers, who are supposed to have consulted authorities on the subject, allow their screenplay to get involved in medical lectures on chromosomes and genes and such, and on what causes a Mongol and a schizophrenic. Some other authorities now are not agreeing with the findings of the scriptwriters' advisors. So "Twisted Nerve," which may scare the hell out of some

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parents, especially those with abnormal children, may not be as scientifically sound as its makers think.

It's unfortunate that the Boultings didn't just stick to the thriller aspects of their movie and cut out all the lectures and science. Cutting would do the picture some good anyway, as it's too long. But it does have its thrills for those who want 'em. Bennett is quite good as the sneaky, sly Martin-Georgie who goes berserk after committing a couple of murders and finally goes to work on Susan. Hayley Mills is fine in the role of the naive girl who is taken in too easily. And, as usual, the English supporting cast are excellent, especially Miss Whitelaw as Susan's sexy mother, Barry Foster as her lodger-lover until Georgie comes along, and Salmaan Peer as an Indian and medical student. Audiences who just can't resist thrillers should find this one to their liking, whether or not they agree with its thesis: "A twisted nerve, a ganglion gone awry, predestinates the sinner or the saint."

Audiences watching "The Night of the Following Day" may not be quite so patient with producer-director-script-writer Hubert Cornfield's nest of psychopaths. No doubt all kidnappers are more than a little abnormal but those in this melodrama, except for Marlon Brando who seems to be playing it straight, are way, way out. Furthermore, set in France as this handsome color picture is, these foreigners would attract attention, if not for their kidnapping, at least for their other behavior. Pamela Franklin, a pretty miss, is snatched from the Paris airport by Brando (who looks very good slimmed down and blond) and Richard Boone, who turns out to be a sadist who'd just as soon bump off their victim, and Jess Hahn, who dreams of big money, and Rita Moreno, as a dope addict in love with Brando but likely to spoil the whole game with her unpredictable carrying-on. The main trouble with the film is that all these people behave so peculiarly that you begin to laugh when you shouldn't, so the suspense and thrills have no sense of reality. Anyway, the movie plays a trick on you at the finale that discounts the whole thing and makes you wonder if pretty Pamela is the real psycho.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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HAROLD WOLMAN

Discontent with the present welfare system has now spread to nearly all sectors of American society. Criticism of public assistance programs from such established public figures as Vice-President Agnew, New York Governor Rockefeller, and former HEW Secretary Cohen is now accepted as commonplace rather than shocking. The consensus against present policies, however, is not easily translated into a consensus for specific remedies. The battle over remedies rages on two fronts. While academics conduct minor wars with each other to demonstrate the desirability of their own pet proposals, (guaranteed income, family allowances, guaranteed employment, nationalization of the welfare system) politicians remain suspicious of any changes even though they, like everyone else, are unhappy with the present situation. Unfortunately, the gap between the academics and the politicians seems nearly unbridgeable.

James C. Vadakin's *Children, Poverty and Family Allowances* is squarely within the tradition of internecine academic warfare. It is an unabashed and sometimes uncritical argument for a family allowance program as the best means of putting an end to poverty. Vadakin's proposal would have the federal government pay $10 per month for every child in the family under the age of 18, with *all* families becoming eligible for the grants regardless of income or employment status.

By way of arguing for his proposal, Vadakin spends a chapter attempting to destroy what he considers to be the ill-conceived and naive proposals which have been put forth on behalf of a guaranteed annual income. Guaranteed income proposals will be, he claims, either very costly or highly damaging to the recipients' incentives to work, since, in order to maintain incentives to work, subsidies must be made to those with incomes far above the poverty level. In addition, most schemes for a guaranteed income would still leave many with little or no present income, beneath the poverty line.

Unfortunately for Vadakin, his own scheme for family allowances fares no better, if not worse, when put to many of the same tests he desires for the guaranteed income. His family allowance proposal is less costly than guaranteed income schemes precisely because it does less to eliminate poverty. Under Vadakin's scheme a family of 4 (husband, wife and 2 children) presently earning $1000 per year would have its income increased to $1240, hardly a dent in the fight against poverty. Under three varieties of the guaranteed income plan which Vadakin presents for criticism, the same family would have a total income of $2000 under the Friedman plan, $1750 under the Lampman plan, and $2267 under the Tobin plan. Indeed, these plans are more expensive,

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but there is no magical way of devising an effective income maintenance program to combat poverty that is *not* expensive.

Vadakin's scheme, although perhaps not as costly overall as the guaranteed income plans (for reasons just stated) is, by any standards, marvelously inefficient at fighting poverty since an overwhelming proportion of families receiving the grants will be well-above the poverty line to begin with. This is because the family allowance scheme specifies that every family with children receive a grant, regardless of income. True, the fact that grants do not diminish as income rises eliminates the problem of maintaining incentives to work, but this could be accomplished under a guaranteed income plan too if proponents were willing to increase by a constant amount the income of every family in the country regardless of need. Such a program, if it were to be at all effective in fighting poverty would, of course, be prohibitively expensive. That it would not be so under the scheme Vadakin proposes is due, of course, to the fact noted above—that the benefits are far too low to do much about removing recipients from poverty.

Family Allowances also can be justly criticized for their complete insensitivity to the large number of individuals and families without children whose income falls below the poverty line. In 1963, for example, nearly 5 million individuals had incomes of less than $1500. All of these people would not benefit at all by a family allowance scheme which increased income for families with children.

In the end, Vadakin's argument appears to rest not on any objective excellence in his proposal, but in a sly aside he now and then confides to his readers. His program, he whispers, is politically feasible and the others aren't. The argument is that Congress will accept a program whose purpose is to help children, particularly if all children benefit rather than simply poor children, and more damaging yet, poor *black* children. Unfortunately there is little evidence to support this view. Congress is likely to object to subsidizing directly incomes of families above the poverty level just as they have done earlier with programs such as rent supplements. And more importantly, it is quite predictable that, whatever the form of the proposal, Congress will perceive it as a program devised primarily to aid the black poor. They will surely have horrifying visions of increasing births among that part of the population in response to the incentive of receiving additional money for each child in the family. All the evidence in the world that this is unlikely to happen (and there is good evidence) will not move many of them or their skeptical constituents to change what they *know* about human nature.

In harsh political fact, Congress is unfriendly to both family allowance and guaranteed income schemes. If change comes, it is likely that it will be along much less sweeping lines, namely a reform of the present welfare system. Proposals to have the federal government guarantee a minimum level of welfare benefits have at least not met with a determinedly unfriendly reception on the Hill. Such proposals would have the benefit of strong support from state and local governments since they would take much of the present financial burden of welfare off the states' backs and place it squarely on the federal government, a drastic reversal of the traditional relationship.

In short, immediate political prospects appear dim for any of the proposals for wide-ranging change academics are now fighting over. It would appear that these scholars might better spend their time emphasizing their not inconsiderable areas of agreement rather than in engaging in arcane disputes over proposals that have no chance of becoming public policy anyway. Indeed, there are some broad areas of agreement usually overlooked in the heat of battle. Thus, for example, Tobin's guaranteed income plan is really quite similar to a family allowance plan which would pay benefits only to low-income families.

There is no need for academics to tailor their thinking to what is politically expedient in the short run. There *would* seem to be an obligation to persuade the public and Congress that change of the sort both the family allowance and the guaranteed income proponents advocate is appropriate and desirable in American society. Vadakin's efforts do little to accomplish that.

The Revolution Of Hope

ERICH FROMM

Harper & Row, $5.95

JOHN H. SCHAAR

Fromm's subject is nothing less than the modern condition in its baneful aspects: bureaucracy, rampant technology, cybernation, the triumph of instrumental reason and the efficiency orientation, ethical relativism, Materialism, alienation and apathy. He offers both diagnosis and cure. Diagnosis: all these forces threaten man's humanity. Cure: inject man back into the system and make him its master rather than its slave. That's all there is to it.

One wishes there were more, but there isn't. This book covers the same ground as Fromm's earlier *Man for Himself* and *The Sane Society,* but here the treatment is very thin and patchy, hurried and superficial. Anyone who has read those works will find little in this one other than a backward glance over familiar territory. Anyone who has read, say, Mumford or Ellul or Marcuse on the subjects treated in this book will find Fromm's treatment bland and shallow by comparison.

Shallow waters often run clear, at least. But that is not the case here. Complex problems are touched with a quick, obscuring stroke. We learn nothing much about hope, for example, except that we are all born with it, only to have it shattered as we grow up, with the consequence that most of us lower our expectations closer to reality. Fromm mocks this, and holds it in contempt. A riper wisdom might see it as putting away childish things. And patience and irony, which can come as the fruit of trimmed hope, are not the meanest virtues. In the chapter on "What Does It Mean To Be Human?" Fromm lists a number of "emotional experiences which are specifically hu-

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man. . . ." They are love, tenderness, and empathy. A curious list. What about pride? And am I merely being anthropomorphic when I say I have often seen my dog show tenderness?

The same hasty treatment is accorded many other matters. A few examples will suggest the style. Thus, we are told that in a sane society the average man could be taught to reason as cogently as the scientists, when a few pages earlier, science-oriented men were excoriated for their loss of rationality and independence. On page 58 we are told, following Marx, that the specific characteristic of man is "free, conscious activity." Five pages later it is asserted that the very conditions of human existence require submission. The tension between these two formulations is not even explored, let alone resolved. The strain increases when it is asserted that in his conscious life man is largely a slave to survival needs and to the thought categories of his society, whereas in his dream life he is free and fully human. The murk reaches Hegelian depths when we are told that "duty is a concept in the realm of unfreedom, while responsibility is a concept in the realm of freedom."

After the diagnosis, the cure: technological society must be humanized, but that undertaking must accept the fact that the three decisive features of technological society "are here to stay." Those features are: (1) large-scale, centralized organizations in government, economy, education, etc.; (2) large-scale planning within each centralized organization; and (3) cybernation as the main principle and method of planning and control. Having accepted all that—no technocrat could ask for more—Fromm's recommendations for change are necessarily rather limited and vague: computers must be made to serve human ends; the management of bureaucracies must be a two-way street; advertising must be regulated; studies must be undertaken to distinguish between life-furthering and life-hindering needs.

Fromm apparently thinks he has outlined a radical program (it strikes me as technocracy plus sensitivity training), for he earnestly asks whether what he calls for can be done. He hopes that it can—the McCarthy movement showed a lot of restlessness in the land—and he closes with a call for the formation of a Movement to do it.

The Movement will have three levels of organization. First, a National Council of the Voice of the American Conscience. It would consist of fifty members, chosen as follows: ten persons of "integrity and achievement" would agree on the names of "forty or fifty people who should be invited, by asking others who combine wisdom and intelligence what their preferences would be. Naturally, the forty or fifty people who were approached would themselves indicate who among those suggested were unacceptable to them." The National Council would speak out on the broadest and gravest aspects of national affairs. Below the Council would come a network of Clubs, each with one to three hundred members. They would study and discuss all sorts of local matters, and carry on an active social life among the members. The third level would be a system of Groups, each with about twenty-five members. These would be the enlightened ones, persons who have already broken through to the new humanistic conscience. More intense and clear than Club members, the Groups would *live* the new society. In sum, the French Academy plus St. Simon.

Finally, I must report that this work opens a new frontier in book publishing. Along with the book comes a little questionnaire, to be filled out by the reader and returned to Erich Fromm. The respondent is invited to suggest names for the National Council. He is also asked whether he would like to par-

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REVIEWERS

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ticipate in a Club or join a Group. The respondent must supply his own envelope and stamp, as evidence of his readiness to take the first step toward the new society.

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The Religious Business

ALFRED BALK

John Knox, $3

Should Churches Be Taxed?

D. B. ROBERTSON

Westminster, $6.50

JAMES J. GRAHAM

These books complement each other. Professional journalist Alfred Balk makes a brief but succinct attack on the materialism he says is smothering organized religion. Theology Professor Robertson, less concisely, but with considerable documentation, focuses on the development of tax exempt status, the widely accepted form of "indirect" aid that has accelerated the growth of church wealth.

Historically, churches in the United States have not shared in the costs of government because this is a Christian nation. We assume as a matter of law that the ministrations of religion constitute a service to the entire populace.

Both authors agree that underutilized realty, much of it inherited by non-profit corporations, tends to brake progress in the surrounding community. Tax avoidance also permits church as well as university capital to compete unfairly with manufacturers in the purchase of urban land thus depriving municipalities of sorely needed jobs and revenue. After the 1967 riots, the Commission appointed by Governor Richard Hughes found that a declining tax base had much to do with Newark's socio-economic crisis.

Robertson and Balk also argue that affluence tends to dilute the Judaeo-Christian message. All sects can be found at the government trough, though Jews, for unclear reasons, are the most restrained and, as generally assumed, Roman Catholic leaders aided by a tradition of strong central authority have been the most successful in acquiring material resources. Cash reserves that are immune for the most part from the hazards of the marketplace foster the construction of indecent edifices like the R.C. church on Park Avenue that contains marble pillars shipped from Italy at a publicized cost of over one million dollars.

The virtue of prudence translates into mutually advantageous "sale and lease-back" arrangements with commercial enterprises. Church lawyers enter into unseemly collusions with wealthy widows who transfer present title and future enjoyment of stocks to church organizations in return for greatly increased lifetime income resulting from reduced tax assessments.

Practical as well as political difficulties, however, stand in the way of reform. Dr. Robertson offers a feasible solution which will please neither doctrinaire liberals nor pastors-turned-entrepreneurs for the Greater Glory of God. He would permit continued waiv-

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ers on "minimal property needs" and would impose equitable charges on all other church income and assets. What criteria could reasonably establish the value, for example, for tax purposes, of the improved diocesan land facing Rockefeller Center? Or, since "the power to tax is the power to destroy," the existence of small congregations and sects, vital to the American pluralist tradition, might be threatened by drastic assaults on church privilege.

Whatever the formula, institutional democracy can only be aided by the reporting requirements that will accompany any significant changes in this area. Sensitive donors might be reluctant to trust brokers who invest church moneys in Rhodesian oil or Mississippi state bonds. On the other hand, the activist Saul Alinsky has complained that liberal church leaders are reluctant to join his campaign to acquire, through stock purchases, benign control over racist corporations because of embarrassment at disclosing sectarian riches.

Conservative laymen, when they discover that even modest sums of church moneys have been allocated in a few dioceses to organizing welfare recipients, may find themselves aligned with seculars who argue that *no* church activity benefits society so as to justify tax exemptions. But this rank and file participation in the decision-making process itself is a healthy reaction to New Deal paternalism which has run its course. It represents a return to the Jeffersonian Democratic principles dramatized in recent months by the school decentralization controversy and best expressed, intellectually, by the editors of the iconoclastic newsletter, *Public Life*.

Among all of the Establishment components, organized religion probably suffers most from today's generation and credibility gaps. It would seem, therefore, that if the pulpit is ever again to become relevant to the needs of the times, the churches must split decisively from Big Daddy. Quoting a disillusioned young minister, Alfred Balk expresses the ultimate concern of both books reviewed here that the spirit of acquisition has defused revolutionary dogmas: "The church," he says "has become a USO for civilians or a Sunday morning mutual admiration society."

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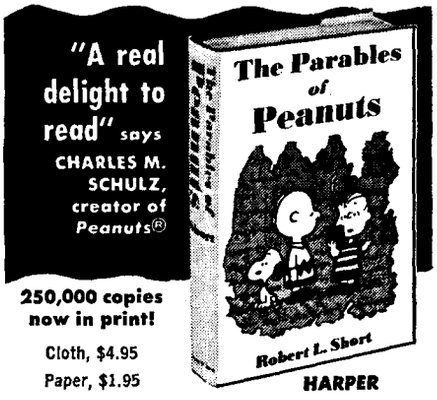
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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 719)

cate, far too intricate in its history and political ramifications, to be approached in an emotional and superficial way.

Finally, the State of Israel is, indeed, "a theological fact" for Jewish faith, whether Mr. Southwick knows it or likes it, or whether he does not. In an indirect way, it may also be a theological fact for Christian faith; that depends on how Christian faith and the Christian define their relation to Jewish faith and to the Jew. A failure to acknowledge this will surely cause a breakdown in communication between Jews and Christians. Few things are more important and pressing at this time than a careful and discriminating exploration of these meanings and relationships by theologically literate scholars and thinkers, both Christian and Jewish. The recognition that Israel has theological significance, perhaps for Christians as well as for Jews, in no way implies that Israel is "always right" or should always be defended, as Mr. Southwick seems to think, either in what it does or fails to do. But unless the nature of this significance is spelled out, both for Jews and for Christians, there will be no basis for mutual understanding and trust; and without that Christian and Jew will be unable to take common counsel for a shared responsibility with respect to the Middle East, or with respect to almost anything else, including our domestic scene . . .

J. COERT RYLAARSDAM
University of Chicago
Divinity School

Peterson and Wilmington

To the Editors: Governor Peterson ["Wilmington: Occupied City," Jan. 24] is not a "politician" in the sinister sense of the word. He is a leader, an organizer, a man who believes that politics can and should be made to work for the good of all people . . . Governor Peterson's first official act was to remove the National Guard from Wilmington.

ETHEL O'CONNOR

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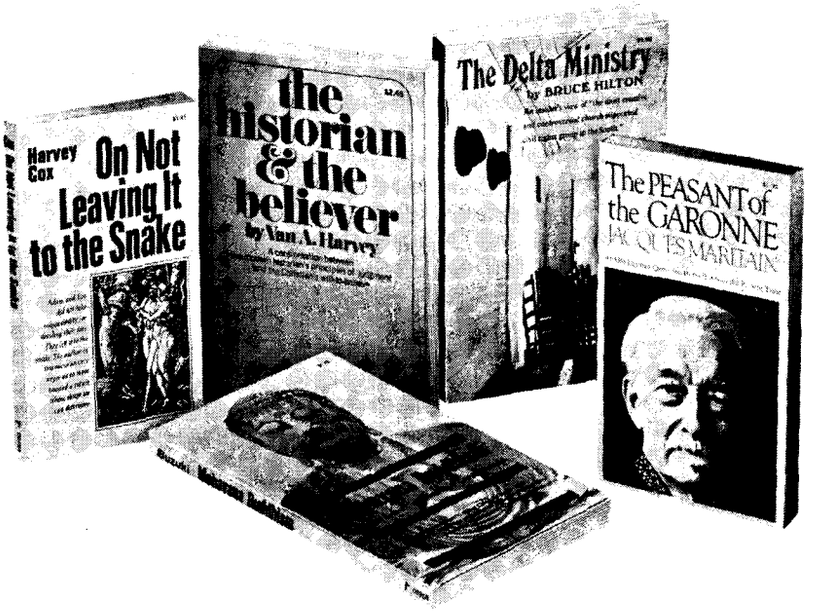

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